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ethics, fifthly of positive knowledge (or science), sixthly of the arts, and seventhly of independent individual life.

One regrets the remark (p. 230) that "in all religions, and in the essence of religion itself, there lies concealed a contempt for the merely ethical, as compared with the mystical in life," and Dr. Brinton seems to accept a perpetual antithesis between religion and science. "Science is from the conscious, and religion is from the sub-conscious, intelligence." Thus religion is placed at all times in "antagonism to universal ethics" and to science. If this is true it is all over, we must think, with a science of religion, and a philosophy of religion as well. But that there is now a rapprochement of science and religion must be conceded. Science is becoming metaphysical, and religious philosophy is inductive in method.

The book is a valuable contribution to the study of religion. The distinguished author enriches our knowledge with many facts from his own field of research. The printing is excellent, and the form of the book attractive, like all those issued from the house of Putnam's.

CHARLES MELLEN TYLER.

Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates; the Narrative of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition to Babylonia in the Years 1888-1890. By JOHN PUNNETT PETERS, Ph.D., Sc.D., D.D., Director of the Expedition. With Illustrations and Maps. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1897. Two vols., pp. xv, 375; x, 420.)

THIS book is interesting from several points of view. It is an entertaining and instructive account of travel and adventure. It describes the beginning of a series of explorations of great significance, not yet completed. It also records specific discoveries of enduring value.

Under the head of travel and adventure falls the larger part of the narrative. It includes the account of two separate journeys from America to Babylonia. Constantinople is viewed with the eyes of one detained in it by the weary process of securing an *iradé*, or permission to excavate. Hamdy Bey, the enlightened director of the Imperial Museum at Stamboul, is mentioned in terms of warm appreciation. The ride down the Euphrates is vividly described. It was aside from the author's main purpose to make contributions to geography, ancient or modern, but he has used carefully the standard accounts of Chesney and Ainsworth, and noted, quite simply and definitely, the cases where his observations differed from theirs. He also devotes an Excursus (Vol. I., Appendix E) to a brief sketch of the history of our geographical knowledge of the Euphrates. The identification of *Kal'at Dibse*, on the Euphrates, in Lat. c. 35° 55' N., Long. c. 38° 20' E., with the Græco-Latin Thapsacus, and Hebrew Tiphseh, was made by him on his first journey, and has every mark of correctness. He speaks intelligently of the condition of the various towns and villages through which he passed. He closely

observed ruin-mounds along his route. On the second journey he crossed the Euphrates at Hit and remained on the left bank until Baghdad was reached. The noteworthy kindness of Major Talbot, acting Indian resident and British consul-general in Baghdad at the time of his first visit, is warmly acknowledged. Below Baghdad the difficulties, perplexities and dangers increased greatly. The climate and the hostile and jealous Arab tribes were alike threatening. No adequate precautions could be taken against either, and the Turkish commissioner and guard only increased the complication. The first year's work was rendered almost abortive by these various evils. The second, however, in which the party profited by its earlier experience, was highly successful. Dr. Peters supplemented the second season's work by a journey southward, as far as Ur (Mughair). He describes it, as he does all his experiences, in a direct and effective way, without verbosity and rhetoric, with many touches of humor, and with emphasis on the salient points. He makes thus a distinct series of pictures from beginning to end. Apart from these verbal descriptions the volumes contain many reproductions of photographs and drawings, and there are two pocket maps in the first—one of the course of the Euphrates-journey to Baghdad, and the other of Irak or Babylonia. In the form of appendix we have a long extract from the diary of Dr. William Hayes Ward, director of the Wolfe Expedition to Babylonia (1885), including especially topographical data relating to Babylonia itself; we have also translations of the *iradé* of the University of Pennsylvania Expedition, and of the Turkish law concerning excavations; the meteorological observations of the second season at Nippur, and other matter.

The expedition headed by Dr. Peters was the beginning of a series of explorations under the auspices of the University of Pennsylvania, made possible by generous gifts, chiefly from Philadelphians. After Dr. Peters left the field, the work of excavation was taken up by Dr. J. H. Haynes, who had been associated with Dr. Peters, and was carried on in the years 1893-1895. "For two years," Dr. Peters now writes, "the work has been in abeyance; but only in abeyance, for it is the intention of the Archaeological Department of the University of Pennsylvania, as soon as the times permit, to resume and ultimately complete the excavations of this most ancient city yet discovered" (Vol. I., p. viii). The cuneiform texts and monumental objects discovered in these years number many thousands, and are in process of publication by the University of Pennsylvania, under the editorship of Professor H. V. Hilprecht. Dr. Haynes is issuing an account of his own work on the field. The contributions made to knowledge by the long series of diggings already accomplished are immense in quantity, and surprising in kind. What may yet be taken from this one group of mounds none can venture to predict. And it is made quite clear at the opening of Dr. Peters' narrative, without the slightest boasting, that the whole undertaking was due in a direct way to his energy and persuasive power. It is further evident that the selection of Nippur as the place for excavating was made by him—made under

competent advice doubtless, but owing to his decision to follow that advice. Another thing that is plain is that the continuance of the excavations at Nippur after the first, rather disastrous, season, and perhaps the continuance of any excavations with the support of this Philadelphia committee, depended on Dr. Peters' tenacity of purpose, and determination, in spite of relative failure at the first, to push the matter through to ultimate success. He seems to hint at a temporary dissatisfaction of the committee with his conduct of the expedition. If such dissatisfaction existed at all, it certainly was temporary, and their confidence was amply regained and repaid. Still another evident thing is that the excavations conducted since 1890 at Nippur have been along the lines laid down in the work of the first two seasons. In all these respects Dr. Peters' work was fundamental, and he should receive full recognition and credit therefor. Dr. Peters alludes to some want of harmony in the party during the first season. He does this in a gentle manner, and certainly quite without arrogance. This is not the place to enlarge upon personal matters, nor to consider how far individual temperaments and characteristics may explain any friction. It would not be surprising if mistakes were made. Perhaps the original party was too numerous and the official relation of its members to each other not sufficiently defined. Perhaps their physical and mental condition—jaded, reduced by illness, worried by countless daily annoyances, under a constant strain of anxiety and disappointment as they were—may have been responsible for lack of thorough and congenial agreement. It would not seem necessary to allude to these matters because of anything said by Dr. Peters; but in view of comments elsewhere, so much seems not improper. It is however wholly due him that the significance of his two campaigns, both as introductory to the great work of reducing Nippur, and as intrinsically valuable to science, should be clearly recognized.

In what, then, did their intrinsic value consist? Chapter IV. of Vol. II. is entitled "General Results"; Chapters V., VI. and VII. enter more into details, under the headings, "The Oldest Temple in the World," "The Court of Columns" and "Trench by Trench." Chapter VIII. considers "Coffins and Burial Customs" by themselves; Chapter IX., several minor groups of stone and clay objects, and Chapter X. sketches the "History of Nippur." A few points may be noticed in particular:

The excavations here dealt with covered two seasons, of unequal length. That of 1889 continued only about two months (the entire time spent at Nippur that year was a little more than two months and a half—February 1 to April 18). In 1890 nearly four months were spent in excavating. In 1889 the party consisted of Dr. Peters, two other Assyriologists, viz., Dr. Robert F. Harper and Dr. H. V. Hilprecht, an architect, surveyor and engineer, in the person of Mr. Perez H. Field, Mr. (now Dr.) John H. Haynes, as photographer and business manager, and, as interpreter and director of the workmen, Mr. Daniel Z. Noorian. Mr. (now Dr. and Professor) John Dyneley Prince accompanied the expedition as *attaché* and secretary to the director, but was so ill in Bagh-

dad that he was obliged to return. In 1890 Dr. Peters was accompanied by Messrs. Haynes and Noorian, and also by Dr. Selim Aftimus, a Syrian, as botanical collector and physician; but Dr. Aftimus was taken ill on arrival at Nippur, and was forced to go back at once. Four boxes of objects were sent to Constantinople as the result of the first season's work, and more than forty boxes and parcels the second season. A large number of these objects have come to America, by Turkish permission, but the greater part of them are in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. Plates of illustrations taken from photographs and drawings, and accompanied by careful descriptions, represent some of these objects, and constitute Appendix A of Vol. II. Special consideration is given to some classes of objects. The discovery of clay coffins, shaped like slippers, urns or tubs, gives occasion for the chapter on "Coffins and Burial Customs." Coffins and their contents as found by him Dr. Peters carefully describes. There was hardly a trace of the incineration of bodies, and Dr. Peters concludes, in accordance with the results of exploring the burial cities of Zerghul and el-Hibba, published by Koldewey (*Zeitschr. für Assyriol.*, December 1887), that the earlier usage of cremation had passed away in the period from B.C. 2500 on, to which the burials observed at Nippur seem to belong. The author calls especial attention to the discovery of drains made of pottery, to the phallic symbols found in quantities, and to the stone door-sockets, some of them inscribed and very ancient, the oldest being made of diorite from Sinai. Two of them made a camel's load, and Dr. Peters ingeniously suggests that this offers evidence of the use of the camel in Babylonia as early as B.C. 4000. He discusses in a few paragraphs the signs used in the oldest inscriptions, with the general conclusion that the most ancient ones discovered, probably antedating B.C. 4000, are already conventionalized, and by no means the most primitive that we may hope to find.

With the style of the inscriptions and the level of their discovery, is connected the most important series of questions, that relating to the history of the buildings and of the city of Nippur itself. Nippur (modern Niffer or Nufar) lies on an old canal-bed, the Shatten-Nil. It is between the Euphrates and the Tigris, and a little nearer to the former, about fifty miles SE. from Hillah, and ninety SSE. from Baghdad. It was identified more than forty years ago by Layard and Rawlinson, through inscribed bricks found on or near the surface of the mound, and was known to be the northernmost of four ancient cities, especially famous in the religious as well as the political history of Babylonia—the other three being Erech (Warka), Ur (Mughair), and Eridu (Abu Shahrein, or Nowawis, the latter being the name heard by Dr. Peters); with these the names of Taylor and Loftus are indissolubly connected as their explorers. At Nippur, by the same careful process of sinking shafts, running trenches and tunnels and observing strata which further west has yielded such fruit in the hands of Schliemann, Petrie and Bliss, not only have remains of at least two kings—Lugal-zaggisi and Lugal-kigub-nidudu—been found, antedating Sargon of Agade, whose inscriptions

were unearthed thirty-seven feet below the surface, but other remains, in layer upon layer of débris, underlie these. Sargon's date, for reasons that have stood the test of almost twenty years, and are incidentally confirmed by many discoveries, is accepted as B.C. 3800. Lugal-zaggisi and Lugal-kigub-nidudu, whose inscriptions are more archaic than Sargon's, can hardly be younger than B.C. 4000, and may be considerably earlier, while the many feet of underlying débris point to hundreds and perhaps thousands of years prior to them for the date of the earliest settlement at Nippur. This result is strengthened by the necessity of assuming a long period for the development of primitive Babylonian picture-signs into the somewhat conventionalized forms exhibited by even the oldest Nippur inscriptions.

The most considerable excavations made by Dr. Peters were on the temple-mound. A plan, and detailed descriptions, make the chapter dealing with these exceptionally interesting. The temple area proved to cover some eight acres, enclosed by a huge wall of brick, which on at least one side was surmounted by chambers. A slightly trapezoidal shape is given to the enclosure by the substitution of an obtuse for a right angle, at the eastern corner, an irregularity which Dr. Peters attributes to the lack of instruments of precision. The corners are directed approximately to the points of the compass, as in sacred buildings at Ur, Erech and elsewhere, but not exactly so. Dr. Peters rejects the astronomical or religious origin of this orientation. He says modern dwellings in the region are built with a side toward the NW. for coolness, because of the prevailing direction of the winds, and he appears to suppose that the temples simply followed the fashion. This is worth considering, and will doubtless lead to a profitable review of the subject, but the attention paid to astronomy and mathematics in Babylonia, and the intimate connection between ancient science and religion entitle us to expect traces of that connection even in the structure of temples. Within the enclosing walls of the temple at Nippur is a mass of buildings, rooms and walls, of various dates, and near one side the remains of the ziggurat, or artificial mountain, on the summit of which the god Bel had his dwelling, while the altar stood at its foot. This ziggurat is a solid rectangular mass of unbaked brick, rising in two stages, sixty-seven and a half feet thick from top to bottom, with curious wings or buttresses—comparatively late additions—projecting from the middle of each side. The measurement, over the buttresses, is 264 feet by 185. This ziggurat, in its earliest form, dates from Ur-Gur, king of Ur, nearly 3000 B.C., but has been repeatedly renewed and modified since, down to a time as late as 500 B.C. Beneath the ziggurat of Ur-Gur are the ruins of a temple of Bel contemporary with Naram-Sin (B. C. 3750) and his father Sargon. This temple, as far as appears, contained no ziggurat. There were earlier constructions still on the same site, but their form we do not yet know. There is little doubt that this temple-mound was the site of structures for worship from the very beginning of permanent human habitation at Nippur. Probably none

more ancient are yet discovered than those whose crumbled ruins underlie the ziggurat of Ur-Gur.

Limits of space forbid further details. The value of the work recorded in Dr. Peters' book is sufficiently evident. All the world owes a debt to Philadelphia, and to the University of Pennsylvania. The frontispieces of the volumes are portraits of Mr. E. W. Clark and Provost Pepper, of the University, the earliest and largest contributors to the fund, and intelligent supporters of the work. They deserve all honor. May they have many imitators!

FRANCIS BROWN.

Cyprian; His Life, His Times, His Work. BY EDWARD WHITE BENSON, D.D., D.C.L., sometime Archbishop of Canterbury. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1897. Pp. xxxviii, 636.)

No ecclesiastical writer of the first three Christian centuries made so profound an impression on the minds of men as Thascius Caecilius Cyprianus, usually known as Saint Cyprian. His eminently practical genius, the gravity of the great problems in which he was a factor, and the peculiar importance of those two decades of the third century in which he became a Christian and directed the Church of Africa, combine to make his personality a leading one. The pages of Chevalier, Harnack and Bardenhewer show how great has been the literary interest in this remarkable man down to our day, and the long list of editors and students of his works more than justifies the esteem of antiquity such as Prudentius voiced it (*Peristephanon*, No. 13).

Dum genus esse hominum Christus sinet, et vigere mundum,
Dum liber ullus erit, dum scrinia sacra litterarum,
Te leget omnis amans Christum, tua, Cypriane, discet.

In this Life of Saint Cyprian, Archbishop Benson has given to the world the fruit of some thirty years' labor, the scientific perfection of the sketch contributed by him many years ago to the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. The work is divided into twelve chapters, and is prefaced by a picturesque description of the contemporary Carthage and Northern Africa, social and religious. Then follows an account of the earlier years of Cyprian, as lay convert, deacon, priest, and finally as bishop of the great Christian community of Carthage.

In the second and third chapters is told the story of the Decian persecution, and the terrible domestic conflict that followed its cessation. Novatianism involved the principle and developed the means of church unity, hence in the fourth and fifth chapters the treatise of Cyprian "On the Unity of the Catholic Church," and the consequences of his legislation for the *lapsi*, or fallen, are discussed. The pastoral activity of Cyprian is described at great length, and furnishes the most readable and serviceable pages of a book in which there is much that will be of service to future students. The memorable question of the rebaptism of heretics, and the consequent conflict of Cyprian with the See of Rome, takes up